

New Problems of the New Era

A Speech delivered by
Sir John Willison
before the Canadian Club of Winnipeg
on September 5th, 1918.

UNITY STABILITY PROSPERITY

Canadian Reconstruction Association

ROYAL BANK BUILDING, TORONTO

RT. HON. LORD SHAUGHNESSY, K.C.V.O., HONORARY PRESIDENT

SIR JOHN WILLISON, PRESIDENT

SIR AUGUSTUS NANTON, HUNTLY R. DRUMMOND, JOHN F. ELLIS,
W. K. GEORGE, W. J. BULMAN, CHARLES H. GODFREY
VICE-PRESIDENTS

A. N. WORTHINGTON, GENERAL SECRETARY

GENERAL COMMITTEE

H. M. AGNEW, WINNIPEG	ROBT. HOBSON, HAMILTON
HON. G. E. AMYOT, QUEBEC	W. R. INGRAM, WINNIPEG
E. ANDERSON, WINNIPEG	J. M. JENCKES, SHERBROOKE
E. W. BEATTY, MONTREAL	HOWARD G. KELLEY, MONTREAL
HON. C. P. BEAUBIEN, MONTREAL	COL. R. W. LEONARD, ST. CATHARINES
W. M. BIRKS, MONTREAL	DR. A. B. MACALLUM, OTTAWA
W. A. BLACK, MONTREAL	E. A. MOTT, WINNIPEG
W. J. BULMAN, WINNIPEG	PAUL J. MYLER, HAMILTON
COL. THOS. CANTLEY, NEW GLASGOW	GEO. McAVITY, ST. JOHN
J. C. CASAVANT, ST. HYACINTHE	J. W. McCONNELL, MONTREAL
M. F. CHRISTIE, WINNIPEG	R. O. McCULLOCH, GALT
LT.-COL. HARRY COCKSHUTT, BRANTFORD	WM. McMaster, MONTREAL
D. C. COLEMAN, WINNIPEG	COL. W. K. McNAUGHT, C.M.G., TORONTO
HON. NATHANIEL CURRY, MONTREAL	SIR AUGUSTUS NANTON, WINNIPEG
NORMAN DAWES, MONTREAL	HON. FREDERIC NICHOLLS, TORONTO
T. R. DEACON, WINNIPEG	S. R. PARSONS, TORONTO
R. R. DOBELL, WINNIPEG	JOS. PICARD, QUEBEC
F. W. DREWRY, WINNIPEG	CARL RIORDAN, MONTREAL
GEORGE E. DRUMMOND, MONTREAL	S. J. B. ROLLAND, MONTREAL
HUNTLY R. DRUMMOND, MONTREAL	T. A. RUSSELL, TORONTO
JOHN F. ELLIS, TORONTO	WM. RUTHERFORD, MONTREAL
THOS. FINDLEY, TORONTO	H. D. SCULLY, QUEBEC
W. K. GEORGE, TORONTO	J. H. SHERRARD, MONTREAL
CHARLES H. GODFREY, MONTREAL	WM. STONE, TORONTO
D. B. HANNA, TORONTO	C. R. WHITEHEAD, THREE RIVERS
GEO. HASTINGS, WINNIPEG	SIR JOHN WILLISON, TORONTO
Z. HEBERT, QUEBEC	LT.-COL. JAMES W. WOODS, OTTAWA
E. G. HENDERSON, WINDSOR	

NEW PROBLEMS OF THE NEW ERA

A Speech delivered by Sir John Willison before the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, on Sept. 5th, 1918.

It is a privilege to speak in Winnipeg, which perhaps, more than any other community within the Confederation, expresses Canada. You are of the West with intimate and extensive social and commercial relations with the older Provinces. Any national policy which would command the support of Winnipeg probably would be supported by a majority of the Canadian people. There is at least one respect in which Winnipeg and Toronto have common ideals and have had common experiences. From here as from the City in which I have lived for a third of a century, thousands of young men have gone out to fight for freedom and democracy, and in very many homes there is mourning for those who will not return. But if they fell, as Trevelyan said of the heroes of Cawnpore, "they bear in their breasts the wounds that do not shame."

In a speech a few weeks ago Mr. Lloyd George said, "The less we talk of the theories of the past and the more we deal with the realities and the needs of the present, the better national progress we shall make." He declared that "the country must come first and not the career or consistency of any man or any party." He added "Do not hitch on to past controversies. Let us consider our problems anew." The advice which Mr. Lloyd George gives to Great Britain is the only advice that we in Canada can afford to follow. In consequence of an

enormous increase in the public charges, revolutionary changes in national and world conditions, and the inevitable and tremendous problems of reconstruction, the old political programmes will have to be revised and all our thinking adjusted to the situation which years of war have produced.

In these days no one is fit for the Kingdom who turns back to the old shibboleths and catchwords. "Look not every man on his own things," said St. Paul, "but every man also on the things of others." That is perfect religious teaching and sound economic doctrine. As much patriotism and public spirit, as much unity and co-operation will be required for the era of reconstruction as have been manifested during the era of destruction. In the strain and agony of war East and West have been united. I do not believe that in the anxious and difficult period of restoration they will be divided. I know how often and how shabbily patriotism is exploited in behalf of class and sectional interests. If I emphasize national as against sectional considerations it must be understood I do not imply that sectional feeling is stronger in the Western Provinces than in older Canada. The war has demonstrated that the East has no monopoly of patriotism and nothing could be more presumptuous or offensive than any suggestion or implication that the West owes some special obligation to older Canada or

that Eastern interests have some peculiar claim to political or legislative consideration. On the other hand the East is under no obligation to defer to Western feeling unless it is convinced that the West expresses a truer national sentiment or visualizes a sounder national policy. If we are to deal wisely with the conditions that are inevitable when peace comes we will forget that there is an East or a West in Canada and subject all our economic proposals and legislative measures to the crucial test of the common national welfare.

What will be the situation when peace is declared? Between 200,000 and 300,000 workers are engaged in the manufacture of munitions. Fifty or one hundred thousand additional workers are employed in factories which are producing other war supplies or a portion of whose staffs are engaged on war contracts. Between 300,000 and 350,000 soldiers will return from Europe for whom places in the fields, the factories, the shops or the professions will have to be provided. If we include the dependents of soldiers and war workers, between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 people out of a total population of 8,000,000 will be vitally affected by the cessation of hostilities. Clearly, therefore, if we are to escape a season of unemployment and of industrial confusion, unrest and depression every factory, will have to run on full time and alike in industry and agriculture production will have to be maintained and increased. If we fail to provide employment for the soldiers who have borne the battle for us we will break faith as surely as if we had neglected their dependents or betrayed the cause for which they have made such immeasurable sacrifices.

When the war came, Canada had a net debt of \$336,000,000. It is now \$1,200,000,000. Before victory is achieved the total probably will be between \$1,500,000,000 and \$2,000,-

000,000. The greatest revenue that we have raised in any one year was \$170,000,000. The total annual charge when peace comes will be between \$350,000,000 and \$400,000,000. In order to meet this huge annual obligation war taxes will have to be retained and old sources of revenue stimulated. There is no prospect that taxation of incomes will be abandoned. It is just as certain that we will continue to appropriate excess profits. But the yield from taxation of profits depends upon the condition of the industries and institutions from which this taxation must be mainly derived. Moreover, excessive taxation of profits must inevitably check industrial expansion, create unemployment and reduce the public revenues. If such taxes were laid upon agriculture as would leave farmers no margin for new machinery, draining and fertilization, both agriculture and the revenue would suffer. Excessive taxation of profits from industry could have no other result. Furthermore, it has been established that great industrial concerns can bear a scale of taxation which would destroy the smaller factories. The United States Steel Corporation sets aside millions of dollars for taxes and yet has earnings which yield ample dividends. Adequate profits guarantee or should guarantee efficiency, high production, good wages, continuous employment and generous contributions to the public revenue. Undue taxation of profits embarrasses weaker concerns and destroys competition. But the Government may fairly seize excess profits and in proportion as the industries provide revenue other classes are relieved. In the United States in 1916 personal income taxes yielded \$173,000,000. Of this the farmers, of whom one in every four hundred made returns, paid one per cent. I make no attack, open or covert, upon farmers. I am only trying to show that under the new systems of taxation which have been

established alike in the United States and in Canada, industry and finance provide a very large proportion of the total national revenue and that taxes which check expansion or decrease production cannot be wisely imposed.

When peace comes we shall need as never before industrial efficiency and the maximum of production in field and factory. It is impossible to believe that we should consider destructive legislation when 700,000 men will have to be provided with new employment and the annual charges for interest, pensions, hospital services, vocational training of soldiers and the general cost of government will be so enormous as compared with our pre-war obligations. It will be vitally necessary to expand old industries, create new industries, stimulate agriculture, and improve land and ocean transportation. All across the Dominion the shipyards are busy. When the war is over we will have a commercial fleet such as we probably would not have created in a quarter of a century of normal development. If we have ships we must have cargoes. These can be provided only by the fields and factories, the seas and the rivers. All must produce to the utmost. Again, if we are to have the utmost efficiency in industry we must have adequate facilities for scientific and industrial research. As much through applied science as through organization, Germany established its great position in world markets. In the United States there is a prodigal expenditure of money for research such as was never equalled even in Germany. Japan is picking the brains of the world and organizing for industrial conquest in every market. Whatever may be our fiscal creed, we cannot wisely neglect the example of these countries which have such an intimate industrial relation to Canada. Both are allies in the tremendous struggle for a free world, but I do not understand that partnership in the war involves

economic dependence in the future. We shall be as free as before to determine our own national policy. So will they. There is no doubt that they will assert their freedom and we will do likewise, not in suspicion or in enmity but in the common endeavor to establish sound social conditions and ensure a high national destiny. Industrially, Japan with its command of the East, its supply of cheap labor, and its aggressive efficiency will be the Germany of the future. Taking advantage of the World's preoccupation in war, Japan is seizing the natural resources, the industries and the commerce of China. It is declared that the Chinese are practically helpless against Japan's insidious, resolute and scientific methods of attack. The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers of the United States urges makers of cotton goods to concentrate upon the markets of South America, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines because of the hold which Japan has obtained in China and the Far East. A Departmental Committee of the British Board of Trade appointed to consider the position of the Textile Trades after the war reports:—

The abnormally low level of wages in Japan, the increasing efficiency of her operatives, the extension of her activity to bleached, dyed, printed and finished cloths, the proximity of the country to the great Eastern markets, and the system of subsidized steamers, the marketing advantages derived from her knowledge of the languages, customs and needs of Oriental countries, the close co-operation between the Japanese Government, banks, shipping companies, merchants, and manufacturers for the furtherance of foreign trade, all point to the fact that Japan is destined to become Lancashire's principal competitor in years to come.

No country is more directly exposed to Japanese competition

than is Canada and altogether aside from fiscal theories we cannot afford to ignore the possible effects upon Canadian labor and all our standards of civilization.

It is admitted that during the era of reconstruction there will be a universal scarcity of raw materials. Surely it will be sound policy for Canada to conserve and develop its natural resources as the foundation of home industries and wise to carry manufacture to the last processes in Canada. It has been said that:—

In an average dollar's worth of Canadian produce sold abroad there was, before the munition trade sprang up, probably 80 cents worth of raw material and 20 cents worth of labor, skill and art. In a dollar's worth of American produce there is probably 10 cents worth of raw material and 90 cents worth of the others. Canada sells rough stone for grindstones at \$5 a ton and buys back foreign-made grindstones at \$100 a ton, sells wheat at 1.8 cents a pound when she could get 2.5 cents a pound for it as wheat flour, sells a carload of pulpwood for a six-gross carton of American toothpaste, sells a train-load of nickel matte from Sudbury for two cars of medium priced automobiles.

What is more natural than that the Canadian West should be the chief seat of the milling industry on this continent. British Columbia has timber and minerals which are the natural nuclei of great domestic enterprises. We have pulp areas which give us a powerful position in the manufacture of paper. We have steel and coal of great immediate and greater potential industrial advantage. More and more we should relate our industries to our natural resources. We require a more scientific examination of these resources. Are we as rich in raw materials as we commonly believe? Have we all the knowledge that we should have of our timber supply?

Are we doing all that we should do to conserve it and to ensure continuance and reproduction so far as that is practicable? The British Reconstruction Committee advises an expenditure of \$75,000,000 spread over 40 years to improve forests and plant new forests. It declares that "the whole sum involved is less than half the direct loss incurred during the years 1915 and 1916 through dependence on imported timber." There could be no higher national duty than to guard against exhaustion of the forests of Canada. What have we in lead and zinc and iron and steel? Are we developing the fisheries with wisdom and energy and to the maximum of national advantage? What of asbestos and other natural assets from which we get no adequate commercial or national results?

I often think that we are too fond of adjectives and far too deficient in knowledge of what we actually possess. We waste capital in doubtful experiments. We build too often without soundly testing the foundations. A vast deal of our political controversy is chaff that goes down the wind, blinding the eyes and choking the ears of the people. But these are stern days and the old blind optimism and confident dependence upon Providence will not avail. It does seem to me that the Government should undertake an exhaustive, scientific inventory of the natural resources of Canada. If there are facts concealed in the blue books they should be exhumed. If there are resources which have been neglected they should be discovered and developed. If there are resources which have been exaggerated and misrepresented the truth should be established. The achievements of the Imperial Munitions Board constitute a miracle of discovery and expansion. Through the necessities of war new resources have been revealed and new industries created. These industries, based upon native raw materials, are indigenous to Canada. They

are as legitimate as agriculture or fishing or lumbering. In proportion as we develop new and natural industries we add to the national wealth, increase population and enlarge the public revenues. Whatever undesirable qualities Canadians may possess they have a natural efficiency, which is demonstrated wherever they establish themselves and never has been more finely revealed than in France and Flanders. It has been a common reproach that Canadian manufacturers rely upon the tariff and are deficient in initiative, enterprise and courage. At least this is disproved by the industries of Canada during the war, for however wisely the Shell Committee and the Imperial Munitions Board may have inspired and directed Canadian manufacturers and Canadian workmen, they have co-operated with signal energy, skill and efficiency. There is no reason that we should not have as wise direction, equal enterprise and even greater output during the era of reconstruction.

It is impossible to exaggerate the need of the ravaged nations of the Old World for machinery and supplies when the war is over. Early in 1917 the loss of industrial, agricultural and public property in France, Belgium and the Eastern theatre of war alone, was estimated at \$6,000,000,000. Since, billions have been added to the huge total. There will be an illimitable market for lumber, agricultural, mining and electrical machinery, for furniture, building supplies, and railway equipment. The demand upon the New World to reconstruct the Old, will be as great as has been the demand for armies and munitions. But if we are to secure a substantial foothold in export markets and assist in the rebuilding of Europe we must have thorough organization and the co-operation of manufacturers, banking institutions, railway and steamship companies and the Government. This is recognized in Great

Britain, in France, in the United States and in Japan. One could fill columns with a mere enumeration of the organizations in those countries that are dealing with after-war problems and literally billions of money have been or will be appropriated for the readaptation of domestic industries to peace and in preparation for a favorable position in world markets. In export trade volume is required. There are only a few industries in Canada which have resources adequate to independent penetration of foreign markets. But it is possible to effect a combination of kindred industries, with common shipping and common selling agencies. Every shipment to world markets means the employment of additional capital and additional labor in Canada and greater domestic activity and prosperity.

The War Finance Corporation of the United States with a capital of \$500,000,000 is authorized to provide credits for industries and enterprises necessary to or contributory to the prosecution of the war to the huge total of \$3,000,000,000. Is it not possible to provide credits in Canada for industry and agriculture during the period of reconstruction? The great objects should be to increase field production, to assist new industries native to Canada, to stimulate and extend scientific research and to find new markets for Canadian products and manufactures. We must increase production if we are to bear staunchly the burden which the war has laid upon us and after all, agriculture and settlement are the primary considerations. While the soldiers are returning we may not have any great volume of immigration from Europe owing chiefly to an inevitable scarcity of shipping accommodation. But the very foundations of British industry have been disturbed, a multitude of women have adapted themselves to new occupations, and hundreds of thousands of soldiers

will return from the war, animated by new impulses, perhaps with greater self-reliance, and certainly of more adventurous spirit. They will look towards the unoccupied areas of the newer countries and Canada will not be neglected. They will not come if there is depression and unemployment. Whatever problems may attend upon a great immigration, and probably for the future we shall set a higher value upon Canadian citizenship, we need population to justify our heavy expenditures on public works and railways, and to carry obligations which at least are very onerous for eight millions of people. It is, however, not enough to have the land: there must also be reasonable assurance of employment and markets.

It is supremely important that the export demand for Canadian farm products should not be diminished. For the moment there is a resolute determination in Great Britain that for the future the country shall be self-feeding. How far it will be possible to give effect to that determination time will reveal. Before the war the United Kingdom produced less than forty per cent. of the cereals required to feed its population. In 1917 more than a million acres were added to the area under grain and potatoes. There was an increase over the previous year of 850,000 tons of home grown cereals and of 3,000,000 tons of potatoes. During this year 1,200,000 additional acres have been brought under cultivation. The area under wheat is now one and a half times greater than before the war and the food supply has been substantially increased by the general cultivation of allotments. This great increase in the British crop acreage has been assisted materially by farm tractors which should be made in Canada as successfully as in the United States. Great Britain may not become absolutely self-feeding, but assuredly

there will be much less idle land in the British Islands for years to come. It is only surprising that much of this land was not forced into cultivation long ago. But if the British demand for Canadian food products is to decrease it is vital that other markets should be discovered, facilities of transportation afforded and our products standardized according to the requirements of importing countries. It is vital, too, that industries closely related to agriculture should be developed and home markets created and enlarged in the great agricultural areas. It may be necessary to guarantee wheat prices for a period. There are problems of reconstruction affecting the farm as well as the factory. Instead of conflict between industry and agriculture when peace is restored there may be the gravest necessity for complete sympathy and co-operation and active mutual support.

The economic relationship between East and West is intimate and absolute. Industrial disturbances in Ontario and Quebec lower national prosperity and adversely affect the Prairie Provinces. Crop failures in the great grain areas produce depression in the East. Every acre seeded is increased wealth for the Dominion. Every factory opened is an additional asset for the State. New markets are for the common good. New factories in the towns and new settlers upon the land ensure a natural exchange of manufactures and products and even, continuous and harmonious national development. The effects of depression, of extreme legislation, of national or industrial Bolshevism, fall finally and chiefly upon labor and agriculture, upon workers and producers. The fact is attested and established by great tragedies in human history.

As there will be necessity for understanding and co-operation between field and factory, so it is greatly desirable that relations between employers and workmen should be

improved and stabilized. Failure of capital to appreciate the human rights of labor and the dominance of extreme elements in workmen's organizations have been responsible for much industrial trouble and conflict. But everywhere there are signs of a spirit among industrial leaders which recognizes human as superior to economic considerations as there are evidences of a disposition among leaders of labor to admit that capital and management are as clearly entitled to a return as labor itself. It is to be hoped that we will hear the true voice of labor less seldom and the clamour of extremists less often. Russia affords a striking lesson of the results of impossible theories and revolutionary leadership. In a broader conception of industry by capital and a more sympathetic understanding of the functions of capital and the value of direction and organization lie the best promise of a happier industrial future.

It is said that in Great Britain as the result of extreme but necessary state regulation during the war there is a revolt against the teaching of the collectivists and a new recognition of the natural common interest of employers and employed. "Officialdom," says Mr. John Galsworthy, "is on all our nerves." But capital will be less autocratic and labor less dependent. No change in the form of relations between employers and workmen will avail unless there is also a change in the spirit. I have read many of the reports of the conferences between employers and employed in Great Britain. In all their joint resolutions emphasis is laid upon the necessity for continuity of employment. It is admitted that unless continuous employment can be assured labor may seek to restrict production. This will not be done through sloth or evil disposition but often through sheer self-sacrifice by the more efficient workmen in order

to prevent unemployment by over production. It is recognized in Great Britain as elsewhere that during reconstruction high production will be a supreme object. It begins to be recognized also that if continuous employment can be assured the more efficient element of labor can put all its skill and energy into production without hardship to the less efficient and that if continuous production is maintained at a high level wages also will be maintained and increased, the steady and profitable operation of factories assured, and all the standards of living improved. Many employers now agree that frequent changes of employees, the loss of old and faithful workmen, and the training of substitutes imposes a heavy charge upon industry. They understand that these changes occur chiefly through fear of a dependent old age and concern for the future of men's families. Great industries in Britain and the United States are establishing pensions and annuities. In the Standard Oil Plant in New Jersey where 9,000 workers are employed an industrial council has been established upon which the workers are represented by delegates whom they themselves elect by ballot. The employees at each plant are divided into groups or divisions with two representatives for each group of 300 and an additional representative for larger groups. All changes in rates of wages are made in conferences with these representatives of labor who also represent to the management all grievances of individuals or groups on all questions that concern working conditions in the plant and living conditions in the community. No worker may be summarily suspended or dismissed by any foreman and in cases where the foreman and the Employment Department fail to agree there is a right of appeal to the general superintendent. Every employee of more than a year's standing is insured for a minimum of

\$500. Each year this insurance is re-adjusted on an ascending scale so that workers who have been in the employ of the company for five years or more are insured for an amount equal to 12 months full pay with a maximum of \$2,000. Employees are not required to undergo any physical examination. All premiums are paid by the company. No tax of any kind falls on workmen insured nor does the insurance lapse if the employee leaves the company's service. Workers receive half wages during illness for periods ranging from six weeks in the case of those whose term of service has been less than two years' to 52 weeks in the case of employees of ten years service or over. Mr. W. C. Teagle, President of the Standard Oil Company, says: "We aim to make the wage-earner feel that he is an integral and permanent part of our organization, and to recognize him as such. Just as our interest in him is not limited to the work he does from day to day, so his interest in the company is not limited to his daily wage, but by his loyal service he is building for himself an assured and an increasing share in its prosperity. Capital and industry are partners." From these and other experiments a final solution of the supreme human problem may be found or at least the world may get nearer to a blessed consummation. These and other problems are the subject of profound consideration by joint conferences of employers and workers in Great Britain and in the United States. A Board of Adjustment upon which the Railway War Board and the employees of the roads have equal representation has been created to consider and adjust all differences which may arise in the operation of the Canadian railways. It is recognized as never before that Labor and Capital are a business partnership, that the natural human relation of the employer is with his workmen and of the workmen with the employer, that in co-operation

there is common gain and industrial peace and in conflict common loss, social misery and national weakness. I am not such a confident optimist as to think that we can establish permanent industrial peace in a day, that under any system men can devise labor will be always reasonable and employers always just and generous, but I do believe that in joint conferences of employers and workers much loss and friction can be avoided and the unity and stability of the Commonwealth enormously strengthened. Is there any reason why Canada should not blaze the trail towards a better relation between Labor and Capital and evolve out of the travail of war and reconstruction a genuine industrial democracy.

We have shed much blood and spent much treasure to restore freedom in the Old World and maintain it in the New. To those who come back to us maimed and broken we have an eternal obligation. If we cannot restore we must maintain. The soldier's widow and his orphan we must protect and cherish. I cannot think that the scale of pensions is yet adequate. Nor can I think that the people of Canada are yet fully conscious of the difficult problems which lie in the future. It is altogether desirable that soldiers who will go upon the land should be assisted to establish themselves. But they cannot be subjected to restraint or compulsion. For many of those who choose other avocations, many whose courses at college or university were interrupted in the natural time of preparation for the future, many of those of middle age whose businesses have been ruined and whose old connections have been broken, we shall have to provide a system of credits in partial compensation for losses that never can be wholly repaired. Actual shortage of money will be one of their most serious handicaps. Thus far the necessity for financial assistance has been recognized only in the

agricultural programmes of the various Provinces and the land settlement proposals of the Federal Government. But the extension of substantial credits on easy terms to war veterans is necessary if re-establishment is to be successfully accomplished, and is an obligation upon the Dominion which, in justice to its soldiers, it cannot ignore. We will meet the test of peace far less nobly than we met the test of war if those who seek employment seek in vain; if we fail in adequate preparation for the conditions and problems which we cannot escape when peace is restored. One feels the necessity for counsels of patience and prudence, for generous dealing with those who have ennobled Canada on many a bloody field, for energy and

integrity in public administration, and that high respect for public faith and public order which so peculiarly and honorably distinguishes the Empire to which we belong. As we listen we still seem to hear across the sea the cries of those who contend and even the whispers of those who die but somewhere in the distance there is peace and rejoicing and for the long future free men, free seas, a free world. If we are courageous, united and confident when that blessed day comes we shall not shame those who have kept us in honor and security by endurance, sacrifice and valor as sublime as ever was displayed in human history. "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together."

EAST AND WEST; LAND AND INDUSTRY

A Speech delivered by Sir John Willison, before the Kiwanis Club of Winnipeg on October 1, 1918.

A month ago I made a speech at Winnipeg which has been the subject of criticism, favorable and unfavorable. For that which was favorable I am grateful. By that which was unfavorable I will try to profit. But I think there is unnecessary suspicion and misunderstanding. A few years ago, as I understand, the organized grain growers and the commercial, financial and industrial interests of Western Canada established a Council of Agriculture and Commerce. This council has held periodical conferences to abolish grievances, adjust differences and ensure co-operation for common objects. It seems to be universally agreed that through these conferences much misunderstanding has been removed and far more satisfactory relations established between the agricultural and business interests of Western Canada. The Western grain growers are perhaps the most powerful agrarian organization that ever has been created in any country. It has been developed with much wisdom and foresight. All its affairs are managed with signal efficiency. No farmers' organization in the United States has had such permanence or such genius for co-operation. No greater successes have been achieved by the agrarian party of Germany. Strongly entrenched in the West, the grain growers are now extending their organization to older Canada. Ontario has a council of agriculture, and organization has begun in Quebec and the Atlantic

provinces. Over all there is a national council, exercising executive control, stimulating and unifying the provincial associations and combining all the forces for a common national object.

Not only are the farmers organizing a great national co-operative movement but they are also developing a common political programme. In the West their political strength is formidable. In the East it is not inconsiderable and will increase as organization is extended. All this is legitimate enough. The facts are stated only in order that the situation may be understood, and not with any thought of censure or attack. But if a national organization of farmers is desirable a national organization of the business interests is not less desirable or less legitimate. If the Western Provinces are benefited by conferences between farmers and the representatives of other interests, there should be at least equal advantage in national conferences between the leaders of the organized farmers and representatives of organized labor and of the commercial, financial and industrial elements.

It is as important to consider common interests as to reconcile differences. There are differences to be reconciled between sections of the country and elements of the population. There are great common interests to be developed and strengthened. If the chief and deliberate objects of two such national

organizations as I have described should be to engage in conflict probably only mischief would follow. If the chief objects should be to produce understanding and co-operation for the common welfare, general and immeasurable advantages should result. The causes which unite all elements and classes, if one may speak of classes in a democracy, are far greater than the causes which divide. No doubt there will always be contention and conflict in a free country. In that way abuses are destroyed and the race emancipated from evil customs and conditions. The radical of one generation is the conservative of the next. What is heresy to-day may be orthodox to-morrow. But conflict is justifiable only when co-operation has failed and agreement is impossible. I have heard of a man who was advised not to cherish his animosities, to whom the counsel was unpalatable, because he declared that he enjoyed his animosities. In that temper lie the roots of much destructive industrial warfare, and much unprofitable political controversy.

But if ever there was a time in Canada when conflict was unwise and co-operation desirable, it is now, and in the years immediately before us, when we must repair the ravages of War and concentrate all the energies of the nation upon the problems of reconstruction. When the War is over, at least 350,000 men engaged on War contracts or other War services will require other employment. As many soldiers returning from Europe will have to be re-established in civil pursuits. If the War had lasted for only six months, or twelve months, as many of us hoped when Germany began its red march across Belgium, reconstruction would be a far less onerous undertaking. But we know how difficult it will be to restore many of those who have been four or five years away to the places which they held at enlistment. We know too that many of these will have become unfitted for the places which

they formerly occupied or be reluctant to return to such occupations. There will be a multitude of young men who were taken from the Colleges and Universities, or who had just begun to fit themselves for some industrial pursuit or who had not even settled upon the avocations which they desired to follow. All these with education incomplete, and with no practical training for civil life, will be the peculiar concern of the State for which they have made such heavy sacrifices. So tens of thousands of men taken from the shops and the factories will not easily re-establish themselves unless trade is active and the factory is busy.

We can all agree that nothing is more desirable than to increase the population on the land, but those who go upon the land must go voluntarily and under conditions which will ensure reasonable prospects of success. There is nothing which demands greater prudence and wisdom than the organization of soldiers' settlements. More and more farming becomes a business as scientific as banking or manufacturing and training is as necessary as for any other occupation. All projects of land settlement should be supervised by the best practical agriculturists that can be secured. If blocks of land are to be selected, they must be situated in good agricultural areas and not too far from railways and markets. Only failure and disaster would follow any attempt to settle soldiers in remote or unproved country, or upon land which the best practical farmers would not be glad to cultivate. It does seem to me that in these Western provinces the Government must acquire, upon terms that will not be unjust to the absentee or unoccupying holders, much land which now lies idle.

Legislation tainted with the flavor of confiscation would be unjust, impolitic and unwise. Since for generations Canada will be a borrowing country, it is very desirable that

Canadian credit on the money markets should be maintained. Moreover, a nation should observe its contracts just as a decent private citizen respects and honors his obligations. Too often democracy is reluctant to confess its mistakes and more ready to assess the consequences of its blunders and follies upon a suspected or unpopular few than upon the body of the people who demanded measures which produced unsatisfactory results and supported the Governments responsible for unwise legislation. No group or party has the right to demand reforms at the expense of other people. Under all circumstances fair dealing is best for the nation as it is best for the individual. There are many land holders in Western Canada who are ready to negotiate for the surrender of their holdings upon terms that will not be unfair to the public, and just as private holders should not be required to sacrifice lands which have marketable value, so there is no sound reason that the State should take over lands of poor quality and relieve holders of the consequences of unwise investments. Probably all the land needed can be acquired by negotiation and handled more advantageously for the settler and the country than such free homesteads as are now available. One feels that the whole land policy should be recast, the system of free homesteads reconsidered, and land recovered for actual occupation resold upon small cash payments and further annual payments over a term of years until full ownership is acquired. There can hardly be any question that when the War is over, and the soldiers have been brought home, a great volume of immigration will pour into Western Canada, but a vitally necessary preparation for the future millions who will settle upon these plains is the recovery of unoccupied lands, and their settlement upon conditions which will distribute the burden of taxation, increase the

prosperity of local communities and provide traffic for the railways which, built with cheap money, may soon become a blessing instead of a burden if land out of use is made available for actual occupation.

As the West has problems which we in the East do not clearly understand, so the East has problems for which one greatly desires the sympathetic consideration of Western Canada. When Peace comes many great factories now engaged in the manufacture of munitions and War supplies will have to readapt themselves to Peace conditions. For example, The Imperial Munitions Board has built seven great National Plants at a cost of \$15,000,000. So, many firms and companies have expended millions to meet the needs of War. We must all desire that these investments should be of permanent value to the Nation. We are establishing a great shipbuilding industry in the East and on the Pacific, and we must all hope that this commercial fleet will be busy when peace is restored, in carrying the products and manufactures of Canada to World markets. But if that is to be, the fields and the factories must produce to the utmost, the raw material of Canada must be manufactured within the country, industries natural to the West must be established and land policies must be devised which will bring millions of selected settlers to these Western plains, and make available for their habitation, lands which now give no adequate return either in crops or in taxes. One would like the West to remember also that in the Eastern regiments oversea there are many thousands of industrial workers, that at best the first months, and it may be the first years of Peace, will provide a hard problem of readjustment for Eastern industries, and that unless there is adequate and continuous industrial activity these workers who offered their lives for Canada may look in vain for work in Canada. Moreover, such countries as the

United States and Japan will have great commercial fleets and organization for export trade and command of home markets such as they never possessed before, all natural and legitimate developments of national policy, but not to be lost upon Canada as example and inspiration.

In face of all these facts and considerations, there is, I submit, overwhelming reasons for co-operation instead of conflict in Canada, for co-operation between East and West, between Farmers and Manufacturers, and between employers and workers. There may be necessity for mutual concessions, for accommodation, for compromise. One does not need to come west to know that among the leaders in Western Agriculture and Western Commerce there are men of equal stature with any that we have in the East, as devoted to Canada, as unaffected by class or sectional consideration. In the West, however, one does see this more clearly and feel it more strongly, and in proportion as one understands he has the stronger assurance that the general interests of Canada will govern every vital decision of the Canadian people. All the East can ask from the West is that its people shall understand Eastern conditions and problems. A like obligation lies

upon the Eastern people. Surely such understanding would be vitally assisted by periodical conferences between representatives of agriculture, commerce and industry in the two great sections of Canada. Surely the difficult and perplexing problems of reconstruction make such conferences peculiarly desirable and necessary. We are at the close of an era in Canada. War has regrouped the Nations. In the great conflict in the old world the unity of the race to which we belong has been reestablished. In the new relation between Great Britain and the United States, we shall have a mighty power to keep the world's peace if we interpret the British Empire aright, and by our example help to bind the English speaking peoples in enduring amity and unity. We have had to cast some of our international jealousies and prejudices upon the rubbish heap of time and perhaps we shall see our own problems more clearly in the future because our vision will not be obscured by inherited prejudices and ancient enmities. In the West one gets the vision of what Canada may be, and feels to the full how poor and insignificant are all other considerations in comparison with the unity and stability of the commonwealth.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Co-operation for Reconstruction

From The Winnipeg Telegram,
Sept. 6, 1918

The several hundred representative business men of Winnipeg who had the privilege of hearing Sir John Willison address the Canadian Club on Thursday at luncheon, on the pressing need for preparation for the work of reconstruction after the war, must have been deeply impressed by the thoughtful, comprehensive and minute exposition of this our greatest problem, after the German military menace will have been removed.

The key note of Sir John's speech was "Unity"—national unity. The speaker quoted Lloyd George to the effect that we must abandon our old economic and political prejudices and deal with the new problems that face us in a new way, which will be suited to their solution. In abandoning these prejudices and old ideas, each section in the community must cease to think exclusively of its own interests. It must realize the vital importance of advancing the general interests, for thus only can the individual interests be made secure.

The subject is an enormous subject. The work to be undertaken is an enormous work. A few years ago it would have been regarded as quite too great to be undertaken. To-day, however, we have more than four years of war experience behind us. During those four years we have accomplished the "impossible" many times over. In the light of this experience, therefore, we have the confidence necessary to enable us to grapple with this mighty problem of reconstruction and to solve it to our satisfaction and to our eternal profit.

As Sir John Willison said, the war has taught Eastern Canada that it has no monopoly of patriotism, and Eastern interests have no right to any special privileges at the expense of the West. In the future, there must be no East and no West—but there must be a united, compact, highly organized and efficient nation.

To create such a nation, all the interests of Canada must be prepared to give and to take. We must compromise our differences for the benefit of all. We must first recognize the fact that it is the duty of us stay-at-homes to prove to our brothers and our sons, now fighting for our freedom, that we are as competent to solve the problems of peace, as they have demonstrated themselves to be competent to solve the problems of war.

We must first make our preparations to care for, physically, monetarily and industrially, the several hundred thousand men who will return from France and Belgium on the restoration of peace. We must also prepare places in ordinary industrial enterprises for the several hundred thousand men and women who will otherwise be thrown out of employment when the war industries will be shut down. We must also prepare such an industrial development as will enable us to pay the carrying charges of our war indebtedness, without placing an intolerable burden upon the people of all classes, more especially upon the poor. We must have such a sympathetic understanding between employer and employee as will cause jealousy, suspicion and discord to be reduced to the minimum, and permit of a united effort for attaining individual prosperity and national greatness,

which are dependent upon a high degree of efficiency, which can spring only from unity of purpose.

Our mines must be developed. Our forests must be developed. Our fisheries must be developed. Our agriculture must be developed. Our manufacturing industries must be developed. We must face new conditions and prepare such a programme as will meet those conditions to our own advantage. No one class may be permitted to exploit another class, but we must adopt as our motto the old musketeer's device—"One for all and all for one."

But before we can start in to cause such development, we must make a survey of all our national problems—and also a survey of all the means we have at our disposal for solving them. We must know just what our resources are. We must know our mineral resources, our resources in timber, our resources in fisheries, our resources in transportation, our possibilities in shipping, our resources of man power—more particularly concerning our skilled labor. A survey must be made of possible world markets, and of the possibilities of our own markets. Comprehensive research work must be carried on.

In regard to research, the war has taught us lessons of inestimable value. We have learned how to do things that were "impossible." We have learned how to create, to equip and to sustain an army that has never been surpassed in military history in fighting qualities and efficiency. We have learned how to create, equip and sustain such an army out of the material available in a thinly populated, non-military democracy. We have learned how to make things for ourselves that we had thought we could not make, and which we had bought from other nations. We have learned new processes of manufacture by the score. We have learned new methods of economy. We have learned that we can finance ourselves; that our

Government can borrow money from the Canadian people, and pay its interest back to them—when we had always been led to believe that it was necessary to borrow money abroad, and to reduce the nation's resources by paying interest to non-Canadians.

These lessons have been invaluable. But their greatest value, probably, has been the confidence that they have created in our hearts—the confidence that enables us to set to work now seriously to put ourselves in a position where we shall be as well equipped to compete in the world's markets, and to maintain our own, as any other nation. We can be as well equipped for aggressive commercialism as Germany was before the war. We can be as well equipped as Japan is to-day—Japan, that enterprising nation which Sir John Willison pointed out as rapidly preparing herself to occupy the commercial field from which Germany has been driven.

If we can beat Germany's most highly organized industry—the industry of war—as we are doing, we can equal or surpass those commercial and industrial efforts which gave our enemies the resources that enabled them to attack and to attempt to destroy us.

It is the duty of every good Canadian to study and to digest the facts, the figures and the plans now being so ably presented to Western Canadians by Sir John Willison. The Telegram is convinced that if this should be done, there is not a good citizen in the Canadian West who will not firmly resolve to put himself behind the patriotic movement for which Sir John speaks, which not only promises to give us unprecedented development and prosperity, but which, if it should fail to command the support that it deserves, will leave us with no alternative with which to solve the post-war problems that even the most thoughtless must regard with apprehension.

Investigation, Organization,

Reconciliation

From The Vancouver Province,

Sept. 24, 1918.

When Sir John Willison tells us that the end of the war will find Canada with a great demand for all that she can produce, with obligations requiring the largest possible production to overtake them, and with a vast additional number of men and women workers demanding employment, he is able to give convincing reasons. Back of these imperious conditions is a country with the natural resources to meet them. Enlightened Canadians do not so much need to be instructed on these matters as to be seriously impressed with them and effectively impelled to get ready. Sir John is one of the preachers of the day of preparation.

Investigation, organization and reconciliation are steps in this way of peace. Sir John Willison is absolutely right when he says that Canada is far behind other countries in scientific knowledge of her own resources, and of the means of their practical development. We have had a vast country and few people. We have been preoccupied with political evolution, with certain pressing or attractive problems, such as transportation. Attention has been given to those industries and interests in which a few enterprising and far-seeing investors could obtain or might expect vast rewards, rather than those in which the multitude could accomplish a much greater aggregate result. Governments have not taken the lead in the investigation of native public wealth and its economic production as they have in promoting railway construction, land settlement, immigration, conventional education and political activities. The war has driven this country into certain discoveries and some fresh scientific industrial experiments and has led to some beginning of public industrial research.

It is reasonable to hope that the equal demands of peace pressing on a nation more free to give thought to the future will accomplish much more.

Despite leagues of nations and of all talk of free intercourse among the war allies, the end of the war will find each nation mainly responsible for its own industrial, commercial and social progress. These responsibilities can not be merged in any way that will relieve the British Empire, and no scheme of closer British union will make a way of escape for Canada from the task of working out her own individual salvation. Canada's resources are entrusted to Canadians. Our people must be supported by their own efforts. Our fair contribution to the needs of the world can not be assumed by others. The doctrine of a Canadian-wide organization in which there be no invidious distinctions between east and west, or among the different interests that are geographically distributed, is always accepted as a general truth, but it requires much missionary work and a constant contact of ideas to make it available as a working principle.

Even more essential and far more difficult is the reconciliation and sympathetic co-operation of the classes which are rudely distinguished as employers and employed, as labor and capital. It is not surprising that this separation of interest, often deepened into habitual conflict, is now engaging the most acute minds and earnest souls in Great Britain, the United States and Canada. It is vain to explore the resources of the country, useless to effect great national organizations to increase production, provide employment, and restore the vast waste of this destructive war, if the industries of the land are to be a theatre of social and economic warfare equally wasteful of time and substance if not of life. If a disturbed world can be restored to international peace on terms to be settled for this generation,

or for all time, by some wide understanding, it will be a ghastly conclusion should each nation go on settling questions of wages and working conditions in vital industries by the rule of the strongest as established by a perpetual war of strikes.

Those leaders of thought and action who can find a more just and simple, more friendly and human, more prudent and wholesome method will take rank among the great reformers and pioneers of progress. For a generation past the tendency has been to separate employers and employed into different camps, the one openly teaching and promoting a class consciousness of its own, the other promoting such a consciousness without openly teaching it. The doctrine that the class should include the proprietors and workers in the same industry, and that they should share in determining the conditions, rewards and domestic control of the business, may not be acceptable to those employers who think that they have a right to dictate everything in the shop, or to those workers who wish to abolish wage service altogether. But for the present it is the way of peace.

Need of Conference and Good Will

From The Vancouver Daily Sun,
Sept. 24th, 1918.

Sir John Willison's address to the Canadian Club yesterday was a thoughtful and timely exposition of the most vital social and economic problem with which modern civilization must deal—and deal adequately—if it is to survive.

No fault can be found with his statement as to the causes of the existing differences between capital and labor. On this point he was clear as well as temperate. Nor did he commit himself to any patented cure. What he did was rather to explain what has already been achieved along this line and to call

attention to the elements of promise in various experiments now being tried.

At bottom, what he had to say was that confidence and good will must somehow be established between employer and employee. Where there is mutual trust, there will be comparatively little difficulty. For this purpose both sides must be, not only permitted but encouraged to organize. Business must be conducted on the assumption that it is a common interest, the employer as well as the employee being entitled to a reasonable return, which neither can be very sure of getting unless they pull together.

Sir John's account of what has been done by certain great corporations in the United States and by the industrial councils which are being set up everywhere in Great Britain, was probably new to most of his hearers.

He gave the impression that these schemes have many hopeful features, though they perhaps cannot yet be accepted as anything more than partial and tentative solutions. They are moves in the right direction. They have the merit of regarding the workman as a human being instead of as a mere "hand." They foster contentment by giving him some measure of control over his own destiny.

On the whole, Sir John may be described as an optimist, with reservations. He does not pretend to see his way completely through to the inauguration of ideal relations between capital and labor, but he is confident of being on the right road, whatever may be the obstructions to be surmounted before the goal is attained.

For Concerted Action

From The B.C. Financial Times,
Oct. 5th, 1918.

Sir John Willison, president of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association, has been touring

Canada in the interests of creating a public opinion in favor of some concerted action leading to the readjustment of the entire industrial situation which will be consequent on the return of peace. While in British Columbia recently he delivered two addresses, one before the Canadian Club, Vancouver, and the other before a public meeting in the Avenue Theatre, Vancouver. His remarks were well and attentively received and were stimulating to business men in directing their attention to the grave problem which will be involved when peace comes. Sir John's presentation of the subject was apt and timely, and inasmuch as the war news was reflecting the color in which the end could be definitely perceived although not indicating a definite time, the exact time is still in the future. His remarks, coming as they did at this time, caught the business interests of the province in a very receptive mood. If any plans are to be made for grappling with the problems of reconstruction, it is time that these steps should be considered now. The position of Sir John Willison as a publicist in handling these problems is peculiarly free from the taint of sectional interest or class prejudice. Long a journalist, he has been enabled to grasp problems free from the capitalistic point of view and where he is known, as he is in Toronto, he is highly regarded in labor circles and has their complete confidence.

Calling Labor into Council

From Canadian Finance, Winnipeg.
Sept. 18, 1918.

Many matters of importance relating to reconstruction were touched upon by Sir John Willison in his address before the Winnipeg Canadian Club. And none more important than the question of relations between capital and labor now and after the war. On another occasion recently the president of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Asso-

ciation set forth in more detail his views on this subject. Though addressed to an Eastern audience, his remarks are not less worthy of consideration in the West.

"Labor, through organization, is powerful, sometimes arbitrary, and always vigilant. But, however powerful, arbitrary or vigilant labor may be, it is vain to contest the validity of its right to organize, to deny the necessity for collective action, or to minimize the benefits which, through organization, have accrued to the working population." So, too, the view is expressed as to the right of organization being accorded to industrial undertakings. Not by any Bolshevik revolution, but by gradual evolution—by methods of conciliation, sympathetic appeal and laborious effort toward a better understanding—are more satisfactory economic conditions in society to be attained.

It is unfortunate, as Sir John Willison points out, that upon both sides, in too many cases, there is a vindictive spirit, and a disposition to misinterpret and misunderstand. Too often the labor union approaches the employer in an arrogant temper and exercises a species of intimidation. On the other hand, the employer is tempted to regard the union as his natural enemy and assumes that it exists for purposes of tyranny and extortion. Too often the union protects inferior workmen and insists upon vexatious regulations which impair efficiency and hamper the exercise of necessary authority. Too often both employers and employees observe only the letter of agreements (and not always even that) and the steady and satisfactory operation of a great industry is embarrassed by constant friction and misunderstanding. "Again the employer, struggling, it may be, through a bad season or a falling market, feels that there is no sympathetic identity of interest between his workmen and himself, and that the loyal co-operation and the energetic

support which the situation of the business demands are withheld. So, often the employee in evil domestic circumstances, with sickness or death in his home, and accumulating obligations which his wages cannot satisfy, feels that his employer is far removed from his trials and difficulties, enjoying a prosperity to which he has contributed, and careless of the welfare of the one poor cog in his vast machine. These are elementary facts, easily stated, but at their roots lies the great problem of the ages."

The Keynote of the New Day

From The Winnipeg Tribune,
Sept. 6, 1918.

In addressing the Canadian Club on Thursday afternoon, Sir John Willison struck the keynote of the new day in a quotation from Premier Lloyd George:—"The less we talk of the theories of the past and the more we deal with the realities and needs of the present, the better national progress we shall make."

There is much of the past already buried; there is more to bury. Even as the methods of warfare have changed, so the things of man's making are changing all along the line.

Whether in agreement with all that Sir John says or otherwise, the man has a real mission and is performing real service who stirs the minds of others along the line of reconstruction. We cannot stand still. The nations are moving forward in vast and quick procession. Canada must get into it. We commend to governments and to the public the closing words of Sir John's address:

"To those who came back from the field of war maimed and broken, there was an eternal obligation. Pensions must be enlarged; returned soldiers who desired to go upon the land must receive every assistance, financial and otherwise, in establishing

themselves. For many middle-aged men whose business had been ruined and old connections broken, a system of credits would have to be provided in partial compensation for losses that could never be wholly repaired. Patience, prudence, generosity, and industry must be among Canada's virtues in the coming years of the rebuilding of the nations."

For Organized Efficiency

From The Moose Jaw Daily News,
Sept. 28, 1918.

There was no eloquence in Sir John Willison's address yesterday to the professional and business men of the city at the Prairie Club; rather it was a quiet and earnest talk to them on what they all recognized as the apparently insuperable obstacles which must arise industrially when the war is finally over and the army comes trooping back to be employed in civilian channels. But it was such a clear-cut and business-like exposition that the speaker was loudly applauded for a fine elucidation of how the difficulties might be met and how the men of the country must be as tensed for action to meet the new conditions as they had been commercially when the country was plunged into war.

Sir John Willison showed an unconquerable faith in the philosophy of Premier Lloyd George, whom he often quoted and to whom he obviously held out the palm for wisdom, administration and foresight, to which he, for one, yielded strenuous allegiance. "Let us not hitch onto past controversies but to new problems," was the Premier's message, and this he believed to be peculiarly apt when applied to Canadians whether they be from the east or west.

Two phrases the speaker emphasized with all the insistence he could command: These were "Natural resources" and "Organized

efficiency." Canada must have need of such scientific research and the exploitation of her riches, such as they could not yet contemplate, if she was to keep abreast of the great wave of industrial activity which must take place whenever peace was declared. Already in the States orders had been taken for millions of dollars for after the war construction. The new world must reconstruct the old. So Sir John would have the Dominion prepare an inventory of its wonderful resources, and put it on a proper commercial basis, eliminating the extravagance and exaggeration, and getting down to hard facts as to visible and potential items.

Sir John Willison's nation-wide trip is one of moment. It takes on the importance of a mission; he is a pioneer, not only of the message for a preparedness for reconstruction, but of the right kind of mind for the reconstruction. Here is a man on whom the war has made the deepest sort of impress, one who spent the third of a century in political journalism, now calling on his fellows to forget the old sore quarrels and differences, and get down to business first; to be big enough to forget parochial, provincial, eastern versus western enmities and controversies, and unify into a solid community of reconstructionists. As a pioneer with a propaganda of no mere theorems, but with sound business for its basis, the message of Sir John Willison went home deeply.

For Unity and Confidence
From The Winnipeg Telegram,
Sept. 11, 1918.

There are three attitudes that can be adopted towards the movement now under way to prepare for the industrial reconstruction of Canada after the war, all of which are unpatriotic.

Obviously the attitude of frank hostility to this necessary movement is unpatriotic. It is not so obvious

that it is unpatriotic to adopt an attitude of pessimism and to say: "Oh, the scheme looks first-rate on paper, but it is quite too big to be carried out. We cannot do it." Yet this attitude is probably more dangerous to the success of the movement than the attitude of frank hostility, which savors so much of pro-Germanism as to defeat its purpose. The third unpatriotic attitude is that of the man who says: "Oh, we shall not need any preparation for reconstruction after the war. Everything will adjust itself. Times will not be so bad as predicted, and readjustments will naturally come about of their own accord."

The Telegram has not observed anyone adopting the frankly hostile position. That position is too dangerous to be lightly assumed. But within the past week The Telegram has observed in the columns of two Canadian newspapers the other two attitudes.

A local contemporary states that the plan for preparing for reconstruction and development, outlined by Sir John Willison before the Canadian Club here, is an attractive ideal, but it suggests that there is nothing practical about it, apparently because, to make the scheme practicable, it would be necessary for us to abandon some of our old prejudices, some of our old individualistic and sectional selfishness and hobbies, and to undertake to compromise our differences and unite our efforts for the common good of our country and its people.

An Ottawa newspaper deprecates the idea that any great preparation is necessary to prevent bad times after the restoration of peace. It suggests that the return of our soldiers from the war will take such a long time that they will be readily absorbed in peaceful occupations without great effort. It suggests that our natural resources are so great that we are not likely to have any intolerant burden of taxation put upon us after the war. Both of these attitudes are

unpatriotic. If Canadians could accomplish the miracles that they have accomplished in manning, equipping, and maintaining the finest fighting machine on earth, as they have done, then Canadians can surely undertake to accomplish in the field of reconstruction and national development as mighty tasks as any other nation. If Canadian soldiers are willing to sacrifice their comfort, to sacrifice the welfare of their families, to sacrifice their health, their limbs and their lives—if they are willing to enter and to live in the very mouth of hell for three, four, or five years, to preserve their country and human freedom from destruction—then surely Canadian civilians ought to be able to make any sacrifice of prejudices, class or sectional interests, if by doing so there is a reasonable expectation that the prosperity of Canada may be restored and preserved, that the returned soldiers may find profitable employment, that the nation may be able to carry its load of debt without breaking, and that the country may develop into a mighty power and fully enjoy the blessings that the sacrifices of our armies have brought within our vision as a possibility, indeed, as a certainty, if we will put forth the effort necessary to attain them.

When the eastern newspaper calmly speaks of our natural resources guarding us against the dangers of after-the-war suffering, it appears to overlook the fact that our natural resources, undeveloped, are worthless. We may have the greatest mineral deposits on earth, yet, undeveloped, they are of no value. We may have forests of inestimable worth, yet so long as the trees remain uncut and unconverted into timber, and the timber unconverted into buildings, into ships, and into furniture, those forests are valuable only because they conserve the moisture. We may, indeed, have all the natural wealth that Divine Providence could bestow

upon us, and yet live in misery and die of starvation. It is natural resources, plus labor and skill in producing, manufacturing and marketing, that give us our wealth. So long as our natural resources lie dormant, they cannot sustain life, nor can they pay the debts of a nation.

Canada has everything that she needs to make her one of the most prosperous nations on earth. We require only a proper understanding of this by the Canadian people themselves; and then not only a willingness, but a determination upon their part, to make Canada such a nation.

The plan outlined in a necessarily somewhat general style by Sir John Willison, at least points out the way by which this worthy purpose can be accomplished. Let us not either condemn, deprecate or neglect this plan because some of its details are as yet unworked out. On the contrary, let every true Canadian who has the welfare of his country at heart put his efforts behind this patriotic movement and assist in working out those details, not for the advantage of any one class, or any one set of individuals, but for the common benefit of us all.

Every man can help with suggestions, advice and enthusiasm. We must not approach the problem with suspicion, distrust or jealousy. Such demoralizing agencies are not at work in the Canadian armies at war. They should not be less rigidly excluded from our councils at home, when we undertake to solve our domestic, international, industrial and commercial developments. United, confident, enthusiastic, we can accomplish everything that is worthy and that we desire. Dis-united, mistrustful and jealous, we can accomplish nothing but our destruction in the contest with trade rivals, whose ingenuity and enterprise have been stimulated in no less degree than ours ought to be stimulated by the lessons of the war.

